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State Dept. review completed

~~PH AMEMBASSY LAGOS~~

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2029  
 INFO RUEHAB/AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY 9483  
 RUTABA/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY 3560  
 RUFHRS/AMEMBASSY ALGIERS PRIORITY 0837  
 RUFHYCB/AMEMBASSY BANGUI PRIORITY 3255  
 RUFHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY 1773  
 RUEHCR/AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE PRIORITY 0613  
 RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 0738  
 RUTAAK/AMEMBASSY CONAKRY PRIORITY 1928  
 RUTAOU/AMEMBASSY COTONOU PRIORITY 5826  
 RUTADR/AMEMBASSY DAKAR PRIORITY 4221  
 RUEHJI/AMEMBASSY JIDDA PRIORITY 0574  
 RUTAKA/AMCONSUL KADUNA PRIORITY 2627  
 RUQMKM/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM PRIORITY 1127  
 RUFHLC/AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE PRIORITY 3732  
 RUFHPC/AMEMBASSY LOME PRIORITY 5115  
 RUEHLD/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 9979  
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 RUFHYC/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 6926  
 RUFHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 0467  
 RUTADE/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY 6627  
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EZ1:

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 12999 COMBINED SECTION

EZ2:

E.O. 12065: GDS, 11/14/87 (KRIEBEL, P.W.) OR-M

~~TAGS: PEPR, POR6, MILI, NI, OAU, CD, LY~~

SUBJECT: CHAD MEETING DECIDES NEXT STEPS

~~REF: LAGOS 12997~~

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. THE SPECIAL LAGOS MEETING ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN  
 OAU PEACEKEEPING FORCE FOR CHAD CONCLUDED ITS DELIBERA-  
 TIONS ON 13 NOVEMBER WITH AGREEMENT ON THE NECESSARY NEXT  
 STEPS FOR THE CREATION OF THE FORCE. AS WE LEARN FROM  
 PRESS REPORTS AND FROM COLLEAGUES THE SIX STATES FULLY

C O N F I D E N T I A L

## C O N F I D E N T I A L

MSGNO 14 (STXX) OAF \*15/11/81\* \*00:46\*

AGREED ON THE FOLLOWING PROCESS:

- A. FOURTEEN MILITARY OFFICERS REPRESENTING EACH OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES WOULD BE CONSTITUTED AS AN OAU INVESTIGATING TEAM AND SENT TO NDJAMENA ON MONDAY, 16 NOVEMBER. THIS TEAM WOULD EXAMINE THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND AND PREPARE A REPORT WHICH WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE TO EACH PARTICIPATING STATE BY WEDNESDAY, 18 NOVEMBER.
- B. THE CHIEFS OF STATE OF EACH PARTICIPATING COUNTRY WILL MEET IN KINSHASA ON THURSDAY OR FRIDAY, 19-20 NOVEMBER (REPORTS ON THIS VARY), WHERE FINAL DECISIONS ABOUT TROOP DEPLOYMENTS WILL BE MADE.
- C. A NIGERIAN WILL HEAD THE OAU PEACEKEEPING FORCE. THE NAME OF THE COMMANDER HAS NOT YET BEEN MADE PUBLIC.
- D. THE PKF WILL OPERATE IN THE NAME OF THE OAU TO "MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER." BECAUSE THE GUNT IS THE ONLY POLITICAL BODY RECOGNIZED BY THE OAU, THE PKF WILL DEFEND THE GUNT. THE PKF WILL ASSIST IN PREPARATIONS FOR THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS AND IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN "INTEGRATED NATIONAL ARMY."
- E. OAU SECRETARY GENERAL KODJO TOLD JOURNALISTS THAT THE INITIAL PKF DEPLOYMENT TO CHAD WOULD BE FOR A PERIOD OF THREE TO TWELVE MONTHS.

3. NO DECISIONS WILL BE MADE ABOUT DEPLOYMENT OF THE MAJOR FORCE BEFORE THE CHIEFS OF STATE MEETING IN KINSHASA. THE FRENCH TELL US THAT THE ZAIRIAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE PKF REMAINS READY TO LEAVE FROM NDJAMENA AT A MOMENT'S NOTICE.

4. MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AUDU IS DEPARTING 15 NOVEMBER FOR AN UNANNOUNCED DESTINATION WHICH MAY BE YAOUNDE IN ORDER TO REQUEST THE CAMEROONIANS THEIR PERMISSION FOR OAU PEACEFORCE UNITS TO TRAVERSE NORTHERN CAMEROON. HEAVY EQUIPMENT WOULD BE SENT BY RAIL TO MAIDUGURI IN NIGERIA'S NORTHEASTERN BORNO STATE. BECAUSE THE ONLY COMMON FRONTIER BETWEEN NIGERIA AND CHAD IS WITHIN LAKE CHAD, USE OF THE CAMEROONIAN ROAD SYSTEM IS ESSENTIAL TO FACILITATE DEPLOYMENT OF MEN AND MATERIEL TO NDJAMENA. MINISTER AUDU IS ALSO EXPECTED TO UNDERTAKE ANOTHER FOREIGN TRIP PRIOR TO THE KINSHASA MEETING.

5. COMMENT: DESPITE ITS RAGGED BEGINNING, THE LAGOS MEETING REPRESENTS A SUBSTANTIAL STEP FORWARD TOWARD THE REALIZATION OF AN INTEGRATED OAU PEACEKEEPING FORCE FOR CHAD. ALTHOUGH DETAILS OF THE DISCUSSIONS ARE NOT YET AVAILABLE, IT SEEMS EVIDENT THAT THE NIGERIANS EXERCISED HEAVY PRESSURE TO BRING FORTH AN ACCEPTABLE CONCLUSION. ALTHOUGH SEVERAL PITFALLS REMAIN IN IMPLEMENTING THE VARIOUS STEPS NOTED ABOVE, WE SHOULD BE WELL SATISFIED THAT THERE IS A COMMON RESOLVE TO CONFRONT THE PROBLEM OF INSTABILITY CAUSED BY THE PRECIPITOUS LIBYAN WITHDRAWAL. IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. POLICY OF THE APPARENTLY SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE LAGOS MEETING ON THE CHAD PEACEKEEPING FORCE WILL BE ADDRESSED IN A SEPARATE MESSAGE.

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 RUEHCR/AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE PRIORITY 0615  
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 RUEHKI/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY 6412  
 RUFHLC/AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE PRIORITY 3734  
 RUFHPC/AMEMBASSY LOME PRIORITY 5117  
 RUEHLD/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 9980  
 RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY 5704  
 RUFHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 1469  
 RUTADE/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY 6629  
 RUEHDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 5648  
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EZ1:

SECRET LAGOS 13000 COMBINED SECTION

EXDIS

EZ2:

E.O. 12065: XDS-1,3 11/140-8/08:(348,8, T104AS) OR-M

TAGS: PEPR, MILI, OAU, CD, NI, JS

~~SUBJECT: THE LAGOS MEETING ON CHAD: IMPLICATIONS FOR US POLICY~~

REF: LAGOS 12999 (NOTAL)

1. SECRET - FULL TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. THE APPARENTLY SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE MEETING OF PROSPECTIVE OAU CHAD PEACEKEEPING FORCE PARTICIPANTS IN LAGOS SIGNIFIES THE END OF THE FIRST STAGE OF AN IMPORTANT CONVERGENCE OF U.S., WESTERN EUROPEAN AND AFRICAN INTERESTS IN FILLING A POLITICAL VOID IN THWARTING LIBYAN EXPANSION IN CENTRAL AFRICA. THE NIGERIANS LED THE OAU INITIATIVE AND TOOK ENGAGEMENTS TO PARTICIPATE WITHOUT ANY SIGNIFICANT PROMISES OF OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE. IT IS VERY LIKELY THAT THE FGN WILL FOLLOW UP SOON ON ITS PREVIOUS GENERAL REQUESTS FOR ASSISTANCE FROM THE U.S. THE DEPARTMENT SHOULD NOW BE PREPARING SOME FORM OF SUBSTANTIVE RESPONSE. WE SUGGEST THAT ONE PRELIMINARY AND POSITIVE FORM OF RESPONSE TO THE NIGERIANS COULD BE THE IMMEDIATE DESPATCH OF A FEW

SECRET

## S E C R E T

MSGNO 3 (STXX) DAF \*15/11/81\* \*00:46\*

EXPERTS TO LAGOS IN THE FIELD OF PEACEKEEPING FORCE ORGANIZATIONAL DEPLOYMENT. END SUMMARY.

3. THE LAGOS MEETING WHICH FEATURED SUBSTANTIVE SESSIONS ALL DAY ON NOVEMBER 13 RESOLVED TO COMMIT A PEACEKEEPING FORCE TO CHAD UNDER OAU AUSPICES. IT WAS AGREED THAT A MILITARY MISSION OF 14 OFFICERS WOULD BE SENT TO NDJAMENA ON NOVEMBER 16 TO EXAMINE THE PRACTICAL PROBLEMS OF DEPLOYMENT. THIS MISSION WOULD REPORT BACK TO THE VARIOUS CONCERNED CHIEFS OF STATE WHO PLAN TO MEET IN KINSHASA ON NOVEMBER 19 AND 20. AT THE KINSHASA MEETING WOULD BE DECIDE THE MODALITIES FOR THE SENDING OF THE OAU FORCE TO CHAD.

4. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PRACTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE CREATION OF AN INTERAFRICAN PEACEKEEPING FORCE UNDER OAU AUSPICES REPRESENTS A VERY USEFUL FORWARD STEP. IT IS INTERESTING TO SPECULATE WHETHER SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT WOULD HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE HAD QADHAFI DECIDED TO OFFER HIS OWN BRAND OF "COOPERATION" IN THE VENTURE AND EXPLOITED THE MANY CONTRADICTORY CONCERNS AMONG THE AFRICAN STATES INTERESTED IN THE CHADIAN AFFAIR. IT DOES NOT TAKE MUCH EFFORT TO SPARK THE UNFORTUNATE OAU TENDENCY TO POLITICAL IMMOBILITY ON MATTERS CAUSING CONTROVERSY BETWEEN MEMBER STATES. IN ANY CASE, QADHAFI IN HIS USUAL MERCURIAL FASHION DECIDED APPARENTLY TO WALK AWAY FROM CHAD AND CREATED A SITUATION IN WHICH HIGHLY CONCERNED OAU MEMBERS, WITH THE COOPERATION AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF CERTAIN WESTERN POWERS, TOOK COMMON RESOLVE TO ARREST LIBYAN POLITICAL MACHINATIONS IN CENTRAL AFRICA. WHILE IT COULD BE ARGUED THAT THE AFRICAN STATES DEVELOPED THEIR COMMON RESOLVE PURELY OUT OF THEIR OWN PARALLEL NATIONAL INTERESTS, WE SHOULD ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE ACTION INVOLVED MANY RISKS WHICH SOME OR ALL OF THE STATES INVOLVED MAY NOT BE ABLE TO RESIST WITHOUT SOME WESTERN ASSISTANCE.

5. IN THE CASE OF NIGERIA, IT IS CLEAR THAT IT PLAYED A SIGNIFICANT IF NOT DECISIVE ROLE IN THE JUST-CONCLUDED LAGOS TALKS. WE HAVE CHECKED INFORMALLY WITH THE BRITISH, FRENCH AND GERMAN EMBASSIES TO LEARN WHAT THEY MAY HAVE PROMISED THE NIGERIANS TO ENCOURAGE THEM IN THEIR CHADIAN INITIATIVE. THE FRENCH HAVE GIVEN SOME ASSURANCES OF LOGISTICAL ASSISTANCE. THE BRITISH AND GERMANS HAVE SO FAR OFFERED NOTHING MORE THAN MORAL SUPPORT ALTHOUGH WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE GERMANS ARE CONSIDERING THE PROVISION OR SALE OF HEAVY TRUCKS. THE U.S., OF COURSE, HAS INDICATED THAT IT IS STUDYING CERTAIN MEANS OF RESPONDING TO NIGERIAN NEEDS.

6. BY COINCIDENCE, A SENIOR U.S. INTELLIGENCE TEAM PROVIDED A FULL BRIEFING OF MILITARY ORDER OF BATTLE IN CHAD AND POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS BEHIND U.S. CONCERNS ABOUT LIBYA TO SENIOR NATIONAL SECURITY ORGANIZATION (NSO) AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE OFFICIALS ON NOVEMBER 13.

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 LAGOS 13000

EXDIS

UNFORTUNATELY, THE DEATH OF A JUNIOR MINISTER THAT SAME MORNING CAUSED THE PRESIDENT TO CANCEL A PLANNED BRIEFING FOR HIM BY THE U.S. TEAM. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THE PRINCIPAL POINTS WILL BE PASSED ON TO HIM AND FOREIGN MINISTER AUDU. THE BRIEFING WAS QUITE ATTENTIVELY RECEIVED, AND IT WILL BE HELPFUL TO THE NIGERIANS IN READYING THEIR OWN DEPLOYMENT PLANS.

7. WE WOULD ASSUME THAT SPECIFIC U.S. REACTION TO

S E C R E T

MSGNO 3 (STXX) DAF \*15/11/81\* \*00:46:

NIGERIAN REQUESTS FOR ASSISTANCE WILL REQUIRE BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF NIGERIAN MILITARY PLANNING AND READINESS. ON THE BASIS OF AVAILABLE INFORMATION, INCLUDING AUDU PAPER, NIGERIAN LEVELS OF MILITARY PLANNING AND READINESS ARE WOEFULLY LOW. IT IS VERY MUCH IN THE MUTUAL INTEREST OF BOTH NIGERIA AND THE U.S. THAT THE OAU PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN CHAD BE A SUCCESS. AS A FIRST STEP IN THE PROCESS OF SUPPORTING AN EFFECTIVE NIGERIAN ROLE IN THE PKF, THE EMBASSY REQUESTS THAT ATTENTION BE GIVEN TO THE PROVISION OF MILITARY PLANNING SUPPORT TO THE NIGERIANS AND ESTABLISHING LIAISON ARRANGEMENTS TO DISCOVER WHAT NIGERIA'S REAL NEEDS ARE, ADD NOTES OF REALITY TO THAT PROCESS AND SET THE BASIS FOR POSSIBLE PROVISION OF U.S. LOGISTICAL AND OTHER SUPPORT TO THE NIGERIAN ELEMENT OF PKF. SUCH AID SHOULD BE GIVEN WITH A VERY LOW PROFILE. OUTSIDE SUPPORT TO THE INTERAFRICAN FORCE IS A SENSITIVE ISSUE, AND IT IS INTERESTING THAT WHEN MINISTER AUDU WAS ASKED BY A REPORTER ON NOVEMBER 13 IF NIGERIA HAD ASKED FOR U.S. ASSISTANCE, HE CLAIMED THAT HE "DIDN'T KNOW". WE EXPECT THAT THE NIGERIANS WILL COME TO US IN THE COMING WEEK, BEGINNING NOVEMBER 16, WITH THE EXPECTATION OF RECEIVING SOME FORM OF MORE CONCRETE INDICATIONS OF U.S. ASSISTANCE. GIVEN OUR BACKGROUND IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SUCH FORCES, WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO PROVIDE IMMEDIATELY A FEW PROFESSIONAL ARMY AND AIR FORCE EXPERTS IN THE ESTABLISHMENT AND MOVEMENT OF PEACEKEEPING FORCES. WE BELIEVE THIS IS LOGICAL NEXT STEP FOR US TO ADDRESS AND WOULD HOPE FOR A VERY EARLY REPLY SO THAT A POSITIVE RESPONSE CAN BE MADE TO THE EXPECTED NIGERIAN APPROACH WHILE AT THE SAME TIME ACTING TO STAVE OFF GRANDER EXPECTATIONS ON THE PART OF THE NIGERIANS GIVEN OUR OWN PRESSING BUDGET PROBLEMS. PICKERING

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